MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

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HABEMUS PONTIFICEM!

The news was given to the thousands of benighted bigots camping in St. Peter's Square and to the world at large with that spellbinding impressive ritual which is characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church.

"Habemus pontificem."

Another pope has ascended the throne. He is the 262nd prelate to assume the role of God's representative on earth. A general rejoicing is manifest among the religious people of every denomination and especially amongst the prominent and more articulate expounders of each creed. To be sure, in the daily competitive struggle to herd the greatest number of sheep to their own havens, these professional shepherds of souls cordially hate each other and contemtuously belittle and denounce each other's religion. However, they all put on a smiling face and deliver a word of affected courtesy and respect on so clamorous a world event as the election of a new pope. The priest, minister, rabbi, mullah, lama and bonze will always make capital of a ceremony impressive enough to drive home, into the minds of their respective flocks, the point of useless adoration and necessary submission.

"Habemus pontificem!" Why, even our hardened public officials, paid to "administer" the laical affairs of the state, get in the front page with their honeyed statements of congratulations and eulogies. It always pays to be on the good side of the gullible voters and to tickle their factional religious pride.

* * *

Protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, all religions, at all times, have been and are, today more than ever, necessary accessories to politics and to constituted authority. The Roman Catholic Church has been mistress of intrigue since its inception, and it is an historical truth that its lasting power is the result of a shrewd policy of trading and intriguing and of a cultivated spirit of adaptability.

When its fundamental privileges are threatened, Capitalism rallies to the defense disregarding both competition and national barriers. Likewise does the Church afford its power and support to a political machine willing to trade favors, regardless of denominational differences. It is an open secret that the newly elected pontiff when as a cardinal he visited the United States in 1936 delivered the Catholic vote to Mr. Roosevelt, a non-Catholic.

It has been heralded by politicians of varied hues that the Holy See has pursued a liberal policy. The so-called democracies of the world —including our own— have declared themselves elated over the election of the new pope who is a consummate diplomat of supposedly democratic leanings. The fact remains, however, that the popery has always aligned itself to all sorts of tyrannies and has been a steadfast enemy of freedom and justice. It has opposed despotic rulers only when they have tried to encroach upon the plunderings and privileges of the Church.

Evidently, it takes very little for the democracies to be elated over a given occurence. Their present elation centers upon the fact that lately the Catholic diplomacy has been mildly at odds with the dictatorships, and this situation has been made public with occasional statements of dissatisfaction. However, our democratic politicians forget that the Pope blessed the various dictators and traded with them until a controversial issue changed the otherwise friendly relations. The restoration of temporal power for the Pope was the result of the amicable relations and the practical horse trading carried on between the Vatican politicians and the bloody dictator of fascist Italy.

May we also remind our elated democracies that when the interests of the Catholic Church were threatened by the slow but surely progressive strides of the Spanish people, the papacy, in holy alliance with the mad dictators of Europe, engineered the worst wholesale massacre of a people that history records. Or have the elated democracies ever heard His Holiness mutter even the mildest disapproving remark against dictator Francisco Franco who is pitilessly butchering the people of Spain and has destroyed a "legally" constituted democratic government?

The new pontiff has been the guiding mind of Catholic policies. He certainly performed a magnanimous act of mercy in behalf of Spanish democracy. There is no reason to believe that he will refrain from performing the same perfidious act for other democracies the moment Catholic supremacy and vested interests will clash with democratic processes in any other country.

* * *

"Habemus pontificem!"

Why this universal glorification? Why the unconceivable unisonal chorus of praise and dignified patter over the whole journalistic world? The very claque-like unanimity of these articulate apologists makes the entire show suspicious and offensive.

A pope, in the light of reason and facts, is a human being. At various times popes have been crooks, cheaters, traitors, usurpers, murderers. There is no doubt that they are shrewd politicians and master intriguers in our days. The life of the aristocracy of the Church is an insult to the misery and abjection of the people.

The humble, the exploited have no cause to rejoice, gentlemen of the press!

"Habemus pontificem!" But we also have the everlasting tragedy of injustice and persecution caused and practiced by a society of which the papacy is a part, and at the same time, a staunch supporter. We have millions of unemployed burning in shame for their subsistence on charity; we have hundreds of thousands of people fading into death because of malnutrition; we have thousands of unknown destitutes falling along the cruel road of starvation.

We have a rapacious horde of soulless exploiters, a myriad of dull and unconcerned parasites, a swarm of pretentious and rotten politicians, a jesuitically dignified cast of partial judges, a countless number of horrifying and pitiless jails, an array of military butchers, and you, gentlemen, pompously announce to us that we also have a pope! And, implicitly, you try to elicit our elation!

"Habemus pontificem!"

Well, gentlemen, keep him for yourselves.

Walter BROOKS

FOR CHURCHMEN

Let them go into the churches and hear words—
Words and more words like a strong drug
Which, when it passes off, will leave them spent
And sick with pain and retching in their loneliness.
Let them go and be damned.
What will they get but stones for bread
And lies to keep them warm against the snow.
God? Another word which does not tell us how
To keep our wives from hunger
And our children from nakedness.
"As it was in the beginning, is now—"
That's true, at least; and for its truth
God and his priests should sink their heads in (shame.
"And ever shall be." Yes, as long as these
Go drooling out their garish, empty words—
Words, when we starve!

Gilean DOUGLAS

Who Is Arming Fascist Countries?

Who are arming Germany, Italy, Japan? For several years we have constantly published data about this. Who are arming Germany, Italy, Japan—the states designated as aggressive? The democratic states, the Soviet Union. Democratic governments, democratic men of business, anti-fascist workers. Russian oil helped to carry out the attacks in Abyssinia. Without American aid the Japanese aggresivity in China would have been immensely impeded. Recently a number of dockworkers in Australia refused to ship iron to Japan. An act of responsible labour at last. As we know, Australia feels seriously threatened by Japanese aggression. It spends millions for defense against it. Logically, therefore, we could expect the attitude of the workers to be applauded. But logic is a word that does not seem to enter into politics. 3500 workers were dismissed. A broad-casting station of the trade- unions, which had sent out an encouragement to the workers to persist in their refusal, was closed down, although finally as a result of the protests the ban was lifted again. A few days ago the President of the United States launched another diatribe against the fascist countries. He would have had more right to do so if the policy of his Government in this respect had been blameless. But a country that witholds from the Spanish Republic the arms which it suplies to Japan, a self-styled democratic country therefore, which refuses aid to democracy, and lends aid to fascism, such a country we do not trust when it preaches a crusade against that selfsame fascism. We remember the years of the great world war, when such specious phrases were also employed to lend a fair seeming to a dirty business. We distrust a moral aversion to the fascist states, which seem to grow in the measure in which these states threaten the material position of America. But has not America refused to supply helium gas to Germany on account of military considerations? Indeed, it has! But it has done something else too. It has most actively assisted the German rearmament in the air. The share contributed by America to the building up of the German air-force is described by Melvin M. Fagen in an article which appeared on January 8 in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" published in Bombay, India. Five years ago, writes Melvin Fagen, Germany was practically entirely disarmed. How is it that it now disposes of an air-force which threatens the entire Old World with its bombing planes? Because Germany had not only the help of the American industry, but also the support of the American Government. Although in 1933 and 1934 the Treaty of Versailles was still in force, the departments of War and Navy gave permission to Pratt and Whitney, Hartford, Conn., to carry out large orders for the supplying of the special Hornet-D-engines made by this firm. Nearly all the aereoplane engines imported into Germany since 1933 came from the works of the aforesaid firm. According to official statistics, America exported in 1931 for 27.892; in 1932 for 191.283; in 1933 for 349.090; in 1934 for 1.761.607; in 1935 for 195.464 and in 1936 for 411.252 dollars worth of planes, motors and parts to Germany. "The National Munitions Control Board, reporting on the issuance of licenses for the export of aircraft and equipment during the period from December 1, 1935 to November 30, 1937, indicate that such shipments to Germany have doubled in the past year and that aereoplane engines continue to be the principal export. During this latest period 1.545.585 dollars worth of arms were licenced for export to Germany, of which 1.247.244 dollars represented aero-engines." The writer we quote from, figures out that in 1935 one third, in 1938 one seventh of Germany's air-force was provided with American engines. Now these figures do not give a full impression of the help given to Germany by America. For at the beginning of its intensive rearmament, Germany imported sufficient American machines to be able to make use of

MILITANT CAPITALISM

To consider the policies of the so-called democratic states toward Spain as weak and vacillating is a gross error. Those states, instead—France, England and Russia—took a clear, unequivocable and aggressive position which they have kept and pursued all along the 30 months of the Spanish struggle and never deflected for an instant.

From the 19th of July, 1936, when the revolt broke out, to the 8th of August, when the pact of non-intervention was proclaimed, scarcely three weeks elapsed. Yet, during this brief period it was possible to demonstrate, beyond any doubt, that: 1) the sedition had been organized in agreement with Rome and Berlin from where money and arms were being furnished; 2) the popular insurrection against the fascist attack was successful in three quarters of the Spanish territory and the fascists would have been defeated in the remaining territory within a short time had it not been for the fact that they were receiving great aid from abroad; 3) the entire capitalist world—including the republican government of Madrid —was determined to do its utmost to prevent a victory for the people of Spain who, while defending themselves against the fascist attack, tried to bring about a social revolution. In fact, nobody, to date, has attempted to explain the following situation. Immediately after the 19th of July, 1936, the Spanish Government was still entirely efficient, in full control of its Capital, its ports, commercial and industrial enterprises, mines and golden reserves. Yet this same government was submitted to such a wave of concerted ostracism that Spanish money—the most sound in the world—was no longer quoted in foreign Exchanges.

Capitalism is the universal basis of the world today. Like its natural ally the Catholic Church, Capitalism is a militant power, and, whether or not apprised of the incoming Spanish events it had its line of conduct already established. Confronted with a people who rallied to arms nominally to defend themselves from the fascist attack and the government from the betrayal of its own army but in reality to bring about a new social order of socialist and libertarian leanings, Capitalism could not conceive any idea of transition and compromise. If the new social order would have gained a strong foothold, Capitalism would have found itself performing a subordinate function and have lost a great deal of its privileges. This easily explains why international Capitalism, in all its varied manifestations—banks, industry, navigation, press, Church, diplomacy and politics—assumed the intransigent position still maintained toward Spain.

The so-called Democracies modeled their policies on those of militant Capitalism. The fact that the government of France, Russia and Spain itself were formed by men and parties calling themselves socialists does not exclude the fact that these governments did pursue the policies of Capitalism. It was because of the presence of these men and these parties in the governments of their respective countries that Capitalism found the strength to impose its own policy upon the masses which, for solidarity of interests and spiritual kinship, should have rallied to the defense of the Spanish people. It was a policy which in addition to being aggresive and reactionary, was contrary to all the traditional principles of bourgeois democracy and violated international customs as well as reciprocal pacts among governments themselves. Nowhere did this policy meet any opposition.

When we choose to speak of weakness, uncertainty and incomprehension, let us do so in reference to the parties which claim to represent the proletariat and call themselves socialist or communist. These parties, through an ignominous betrayal, placed themselves at the service of militant Capitalism. Let us speak of weakness, uncertainty and incomprehension in reference to the trade unions which were blind to the traps into which they were led. Let us also refer to the revolutionary groups themselves which chose to employ their courage and heroism in Spain—where men, courage and heroism were plentiful—rather than in their respective countries where they could have waged a more advantageous fight for Spain.

Capitalism, vigilant after its own interests and expert in the defense of its privileges, proclaimed that the Spanish people, by defending the Republic and their own independence threatened by the fascist conspiracy, had excluded themselves from civilized countries. Therefore, the governments, acting accordingly decided that the Spanish struggle was a "civil war" and that all foreigners should be neutral. This was done in spite of the tangible proofs that an Italo-German invasion of Spain was in progress. Capitalist neutrality meant the official sanction of an ostracism which, already in act against Spain, was aggravated by the denial to sell arms. It meant that while the fascist generals could continue to import arms, aeroplanes, provisions, armies and war ships from Italy, Germany and Portugal, the constitutional government of the Spanish Republic compelled to fight by the irresistible impetus of its heroic people could buy abroad neither a rifle nor a pistol to defend the country from the fascist invasion.

The manner in which this policy of aggressive neutrality was later applied showed a continuity of purposes and a tenacity which revealed no sign of weakness on the part of the Democracies. It revealed instead a cynicism and a perfection of calculations of the kind found in calm and clear minds accustomed to attain their end coldly, astutely and hypocritically. The men who, during that period, were employed by the governments of the so-called Democracies—from Prieto to Litvinoff, from Blum to Eden—can very well be admitted to the Sacred Society of Jesus without any danger of not living up to the Jesuitic traditions.

These politicians, in the employ of Capitalism, pretended to be seeking an impartial solution of the Spanish conflict. In reality, they carried on the aggressive policy of Church and Capitalism and consented to the invasion of Spain by an Italo-German army of 200,000 men. They ignored the bombardments of defenseless cities and populations by hundreds of Italian and German planes; they abetted and encouraged aereal and sea piracy which resulted in the sinking and confiscation of neutral merchant vessels by fascist pirates who were granted impunity. These heralds of democracy dictated the policy of the Republican Government of Spain and at the same time were carrying on commercial and political relations with the fascist "junta". They have cynically put 12,000 volunteers who had gone, unarmed and spontaneously, to defend the independence of a generous people on the same level with the military divisions sent by the fascist governments to invade Spain. On this foul assumption, they first defended the invasion and then imposed upon the Republic the discharge of the comparatively few authentic volunteers and their expulsion from the country which they had defended and blessed with their blood. At the same time Mussolini was adding another division to the four already in Spain.

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The pro-fascist policy of the so-called democratic governments has never had a moment of hesitancy or uncertainty from the first day of the Spanish conflict up to this day. It has been a coherent, consequent and firm policy of decided and aggresive opposition to the will of the Spanish people to live a free and independent life; it has been a subtle but nonetheless efficient policy of co-operation with the fascist conspirators committed to the subjugation of Spain.

The State exists, principally, to protect and defend the privileges of the ruling class which today is the capitalist class. This class had decided that the revolt of the Spanish people was to be suppressed, and the governments of the so-called democratic states—England, France and Russia—carried out that decision with a zeal worthy of a better cause. These governments, maneuvering with stealth and ability, succeeded in shamefully betraying the interests of Democracy and the proletariat without even arousing a semblance of revolt among their respective peoples.

More terrible and frightful, however, is the indifference of the peoples of the democratic countries toward the heroism and sacrifices of the Spanish people.

the plans of their construction and incorporate them into her own Junkers, Messerschmidt and Heinkel models. Moreover in 1934 the Germans obtained the exclusive right to build the Hornet-D-engines. As a result of all this a number of the most dangerous German war-planes are provided with American engines. Thus no less than nine types of fighting planes are driven by engines marked "Made in the USA" or "Made under American Licence by BMW" (Bavarian Motor Works). One of these is the flying fortresses, the Junkers bombing plane with four engines JU86K, which is fitted out with BMW 132 engines made under license of Pratt and Whitney. Melvin Fagen stresses the point that, although quantitatively speaking the German machines are provided with engines of German make, it is the very quality of certain American engines which makes them so very important for the German military air-force. He also points out, that since Hitler's rise to power a change took place in the official attitude of the authorities in favour of Germany, and hints at dark influences of the arms industry capital. We on our part think that this again throws a glaring light upon the contrast democracy-fascism. Meanwhile the soldiers of democracy will presently have one consolation: that at any rate a part of the war material of the fascist troops has been manufactured and transported by democratic and antifascist workers.—PRESS SERVICE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST BUREAU.

War and Slavery

Genuine wars ... did not begin except where actual property was accumulated; and as property is in a certain sense a sign of civilization, war might likewise appear to be, so.... Would man but realize that there is nothing natural, nothing great, and nothing noble about war, but that it is merely one of the numberless consequences of the introduction of property! In short, war in its essence is a business, like thousands of others. ... For whatever purpose a war may be fought, however great the spoils of the victor, mankind must always be exploited, either because the accumulated results of his labor are forcibly appropriated or because others are trying to use the results of his future labor for themselves.... Even on superficial reflection it is obvious that the terms of modern peace treaties likewise attempt to impose some form of slavery. What is a war indemnity if not part of the labor of a vanquished foe? ... Goethe is not so very far wrong in thinking that there is not much to choose between honest soldiers imposing a war tax and a gang of thieves. ... True, numerous relics of slavery, such as exploitation, still persist, and just so far as these relics extend can there now be said to be any object in war. Every one, however, who defends war under any conditions whatever ought to know that in so doing he is advocating slavery.

The object of war, in short, both practical and intellectual, is the destruction of the subject by the object.... The fittest symbols of war are in reality two lions devouring each other, which can be called in turn subject and object.

G. F. NICOLAI

The State and Labor

The problem confronting the working class is: C. I. O. or A. F. of L. The government wanting to build up the C. I. O. to serve its purpose, and the industrialists intend to do the same with the A. F. of L. to counteract that purpose. I see no hope for labor as long as it adheres to either union.

We often criticize the state and its policies. Today more than ever before, it is being more clearly demonstrated how efficiently the state is serving the purpose of high finance in order to rob the poor.

We have but one government the world over, and that is capitalism. All other component parts are subsidiary regardless of the name they have. Consequently humanitarianism is lost sight of and the property of the capitalists is given every consideration. It has always been the case with the governments to rob the working class and to turn over the stolen goods to an inhuman group of greedy parasites such as high finance is.

The press and the radio try to draw our attention to some other part of the world where the beast of capitalism is being exposed by a certain line of action, but that same beast is right here and dominating the whole situation. When the masses in any country get restless because of abuse under capitalism, all other capitalistic governments come to the rescue of the beast. This has happened in Spain. Then when the people have been subdued, the different financial groups put up a contest for the spoils, and they deceive the masses as to what their aims and objects are.

The time is therefore now ripe for a world-wide revolution. When it finally breaks out, capitalism will be doomed for all time to come. An effort will be made to build up confidence in a capitalistic government. All sorts of deception will be resorted to for that purpose. The government will pretend to favor the workers in order to regain their confidence, and many that have any confidence in the state will be deceived thereby.

No worker should have the least bit of confidence in the state and should refuse to fall for the false pretenses it makes. When the state assumes the leading role in the struggle of and within the working class movement, they will in the end have to face a most formidable enemy.

The fight that is now on between the leaders of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. is not labor's fight. Both sides are using the workers to serve their purpose. The government is anxious to have all workers organized into a big union so that it can use such an organization to serve the government's purpose. That is far from being a good purpose for the welfare of humanity.

C. G.

How 150 Anarchists Died in Spain

(George AXELSSON in New York TIMES)

"Bourge-Madame, France. Feb. 11.—Puigicerda was fully captured by the Spanish Insurgents only today because a "suicide" company of anarchists resolved to die for their cause, continued to hold their enemy at bay up to noon. In the process about 150 men of the Twenty-sixth-Durruti-Division sacrificed themselves, but they took a heavy toll among the insurgent ranks while holding down machine-gun nests in various houses.

"The insurgents had to take these houses singly, either by mining them or by throwing hand granades. During the night and all this morning Bourge-Madame was rocked by terrific explosions as the Insurgents set off mines blowing up Anarchist strongholds or mines that the Anarchists themselves had set before the Franco troops came in.

"Every explosion meant that some house had gone up and that some men had died. The explosions continued until the last Anarchist had died, for surrender they would not.

"At first it had been believed that the group had been trapped by the rapid encircling movement of the Franco troops when they captured the frontier zone yesterday. But friends of the doomed men told how they had elected to remain behind and die rather than surrender. Their slogan was "death sooner than defeat; in death let us take ten Fascists for every one of us." Their comrades tried to disuade them, but they clung to their plans. There was, of course, no escape for them.

"The extent of the casualties that the Insurgents suffered in subduing the Anarchists is impossible to ascertain, for their officers will not tell, but the explosions and the rattling of machine-gun fire told their own tale."

THREE ESSAYS on "MEMOIRS of a REVOLUTIONIST"

I.

Peter Kropotkin was a Russian geographer, author and revolutionist. His father came from the old Russian nobility. At the age of fifteen he was forced to enter the Corps de Pages at St. Petersburg. From 1857-61 there was a growth of intellectual forces of Russia and Kropotkin came under the influence of the new liberal revolutionary literature. Kropotkin was interested in the lot of the peasants and was very happy at the start of the reform movement by Alexander the second, who emancipated the serfs in 1861. The serfs however were charged with redemption taxes in order to pay for the land. The nobles gained by the liberation because the price of land went up and they sold their bad lands at high prices. The people thought that the Tsar would put through more reforms but the reactionary nobles at the court prevailed upon him to dismiss his liberal ministers and rule autocratically again. Alexander the second was weak in this way because as soon as he heard the grumblings of the people for reform he engaged liberal ministers to draw up reforms; as soon as the crises was over the Tsar listened to the nobles and again dismissed the liberal ministers. Alexander had a complex personality, he was a born autocrat, whose violence was partially mitigated by education. He was a man possessed of military gallantry but devoid of the courage of the statesman, of a man of strong passions and weak will. Kropotkin hated the government of the Tsar for its uselessness, inefficiency and corruptness. The navy was in the hands of a person who swindled part of the navie's fund. The cost of the Railroads, guaranteed by the state was many times higher than it really should have been. In order to launch a commercial enterprise it was openly known one had to pay a specified percentage of the dividends to different officials in the various ministries. Alexander the second knew of these bargains but he said nothing as he needed these men as protectors from the revolution.

On Kropotkin's promotion, he had a choice of becoming an officer in any branch of the army and so he joined the Siberian Cossacks in the Amur district. A little later he accepted charge of a geographical survey expedition crossing North Manchuria. Kropotkin decided to devote himself to a scientific exploration as he saw it was impossible to obtain administration reforms in Siberia. He quit the army and returned to St. Petersburg where he attended the University and at the same time he was secretary to the physical geographical section of the Russian Geographical Society. His greatest contribution to science was his proof that the existing maps of Asia were misrepresented by showing that the main structural lines were from the Southwest to Northwest not north to south or east to west. He was offered the job of secretary to the Russian Geographical Society but he refused it and entered the Revolutionary party at St. Petersburg. When he visited Switzerland he joined the Workmen's Association at Geneva. After studying the program of the Jura Federation which was more violent and active in its doctrines than the Workmen's Association and by this time in the company of some of its members he became an anarchist.

In 1874 Kropotkin was arrested and imprisoned on the charge of belonging to a secret society which had for its object the overthrow of the existing form of Government and of conspiring against the Tsar. Two years later he escaped by a clever plan devised and carried out by his comrades. He then fled to Switzerland where he joined the Jura Federation which played an important part in the modern development of socialism. The Federation worked out the practical and theoretic aspects of anarchist socialism. Kropotkin and the rest of the members of the Federation felt that a new society must take the place of the old one. This new society was to be composed of equals who would not sell the sweat of their brows and the tortures of their brains at the employer's own price. The workers would apply their knowledge and capacities to poduction, in an organism so constructed as to combine all efforts for procuring the greatest sum possible of well-being for all, whilst full freedom would be left for every individual initiative. This society could be composed of a multitude of associations, federated for productions of all sorts as agriculture, industrial, intellectual, making provisions for dwellings, gas works, supplies of food, and sanitary arrangements. All these federations of cummunes would combine directly by means of free agreements between them. There would be full freedom for the development of new forms of production, invention and organization. Individual initiative would be encouraged and the tendency toward uniformity and centralization would be discouraged. There would be no need of government because free agreements and federation takes the place of all those functions which the governments of autocratic, democratic and dictorial and constitutional countries consider in their power to execute. Conflicts which may arise among the voluntary federated communes would be settled by arbitration. The anarchists knew that a tedious propaganda and many struggles and revolts against the prevailing forms of property holding, individual sacrifices and revolutions would have to be lived through, before the current ideas of private ownership could be modified. Long years of revolt against authority would be required before men would perceive that they had been mistaken in attributing to their rulers and their laws what was derived in reality from their own sociable feelings and habits. For the success of socialism, the ideas of no goverment, of self reliance, of free initiative of the individual, of anarchism, in other words, had thus to be preached side by side with those of socialized ownership and production.

The author of this book does not account minutely his own capabilities, his own influence on the revolutionary period or his own sins or virtues. He does not speak of himself but of the developments in society and history of the different countries during his time. He describes the various trends of government and socialism in all the great European countries. Kropotkin was an idealist, peace lover, reformer who described the history of his time not of himself. He was a revolutionist and a fighter for freedom.

(The three essays on Peter Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" were written by students of a well known university, as a class study.—EDITOR.)

II.

In most autobiographies, the author writes about what his contemporaries have thought and said of him. The authors occupy themselves with their struggle to gain recognition, with the appreciation and admiration they won, and with the way a genius has evolved from his environment. Kropotkin's book is outstanding for the reason that he does not stress his capabilities. He is more anxious to give the history of his fellow-men than of himself. There is no confession that reveals the inner self, no sentimentality, and no cynicism so prevalent in most autobiographies. The author speaks neither of his sins nor virtues, of his sex life nor his marriage. He speaks of himself reluctantly and with a refreshing shyness.

The survey of Kropotkin's whole career is the history of Russia during his lifetime. It is the history of the labor movement in Europe from 1850 to 1890. The author's purpose is to give the mental philosophy of his contemporaries and in doing so, paints vividly and accurately, a picture of Russian society. Kropotkin knows all classes of society because he is a member of all classes. He has lived the life of the aristocrat and the worker, the student and the officer, he has been a page in the service of the tzar and a poor writer, a scientist and explorer of unknown lands, an administrator and a hunted revolutionist. Kropotkin knows his Russia.

Kropotkin is a lover of mankind. He severely condemns the indifference, the thoughtlessness, the crudeness and the brutality of the upper classes. Although of a peace loving nature, Kropotkin justifies the terrorists who take right in their own hands and resort to force. An able scientist hismself, Kropotkin condemns men of science for forgetting the down-trodden people and the misery of the people. Throughout the book can be seen his deep interest and sympathy in the working classes and the masses. Kropotkin is a revolutionist but laughs at the oaths and pledges, the ceremonies and emblems that accompany some proletarian movements. The author has a fear of economic despotism, a hatred of centralization and love for the freedom of the individual and the community. However, he visualizes a new structure of society of federated associations.

Few people have had an equally wide field of experience. "Kropotkin's intelectual equipment is universal." Not only is this book a record of an unusually educated personality, but a literary masterpiece. His descriptions of his mother, his childhood in Moscow, the sorrow and suffering of the serfs, the landscapes, the unusualy intense love between the two brothers, are beyond comparison. Drama and tragedy are woven into an absorbing story. Kropotkin has writen a tense, dramatic but beautiful account of an extraordinary individual.

III.

Kropotkin says little specifically about the anarchsit movement until near the end of his memoirs. However, the spirit of anarchism pervades the entire narrative with its simple faith in the honesty and goodness of man. Like Rousseau, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, he believes that man is made bad by his sorroundings; that without the brutalizing and depraving influence of force, man would naturally have a more kindly attitude towards his fellow creatures and with mutual cooperation be able to usher in an era of goodwill and plenty. Kropotkin would decentralize all nations, some form of voluntary workers organization would take its place and assume the responsibilities of production. He is not class conscious in the sense that he believes in the Marxist dictum of class warfare, but rather realizes that since the workers are most numerous, benefit least and are exploited to boot by the 'system', they will overthrow it. To Kropotkin a member of the aristocracy is not per se an enemy of the people, he is just as much a victim of the 'system' as a poverty stricken peasant.

Kropotkin is bitter toward the German Social Democrats and Marx, for he believed that they had betrayed the revolutionary movement by compromising and as a result in time would become actual enemies of revolution. In this he displaved exceptional insight, as a matter of fact the present Hitler regime in Germany stems not a little from the disillusionment of the workers at the spineless and pusilanimous policy of the Social Democrats.

The most striking thing about this book is Kropotkin himself; when one reads it one comes in contact with a man. The outstanding quality of this man is his all embracing humanity. The same humanity which one meets in Christ, Cervantes, Milton and Dante. Beyond this there is nothing more to say except, perhaps, that neither Marx nor Lenin had this humanity.

Books by Peter Kropotkin

Ethics ..... $1.75, Postpaid

Memoirs of a Revolutionist ..... $1.00, postpaid

Order through MAN! or through the Youth Group, 118 Cook Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

On Civil Rights

A celebration to honor the 150th anniversary of the presentation of the Bill of Rights, was arranged by the Los Angeles branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. The celebration took place at a meeting in the Clifton Cafeteria of this city on March 7, 1939. The anouncement advertising the event gave the names of Judges Leon R. Yankwich and John Beardsley as the speakers of the evening. Attorney A. L. Wirin, of the A. C. L. U., was announced as chairman.

Our readers are familiar with the persecution of the editor of MAN! at the hands of the Department of Labor. It is obvious that the question of civil rights is of prime import in this 19-year-old persecution against an individual solely because of his social views. When we shall have stated that Judge Yankwich, a self-styled liberal, is the same judge who sentenced Marcus Graham to six months imprisonment for contempt of court when the latter refused to give information to be used against himself in deportation proceedings; that Judge Bearsdley is a former defense attorney for Graham and that A. L. Wirin is present defense attorney for Graham, the leaflet which we reprint below will be self-explanatory. The leaflet, under the signature of our editor, was distributed at the American Civil Liberties Union meeting at the end of the celebration at which the announced speakers were present and spoke.

Marcus Graham, who was present at this meeting, requested and was granted the floor. His remarks provoked a controversial discussion in which Judge Yankwich and attorney Wirin took part. We expect to give a detailed account of what took place in one of our forthcoming issues.

* * *

Judge Yankwich and the Bill of Rights

(Copy of Telegram sent to Roger Baldwin on Tonight's Meeting)

Los Angeles, March 7, 1939.

"Consider tonight's announced Bill of Rights celebration in "Open Forum", with Judge Yankwich (who sentenced me) as speaker, Wirin (my attorney) as chairman, auspices local office, insult to basic principles Union upholds, its members, friends and Marcus Graham Defence Committee. Urge you as director, committee member, clearing organization's name from responsibility. Wire reply collect." —Marcus Graham.

(Copy of Roger Baldwin's Reply to Marcus Graham)

New York City, March 7, 1939

"Have no information except yours concerning celebration. Must leave discretion in such matters to local office. Suggest you contact Taft and Ryland."—Roger Baldwin.

* * *

(Editorial by Clinton J. Taft in "Open Forum", Feb. 19, 1938).

"Judge Yankwich has long been rated a liberal. Before he was elected to the bench he used to make speeches and write articles eloquently pleading for due regard to the great liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.... So when the Graham case was sent to his court we had great hopes that the much persecuted editor would at last receive a square deal... Moreover, Judge Yankwich knew how ruthlessly Graham has been treated for 18 years—arrested four times, imprisoned and beaten up by police officers, his guarantee of immunity from illegal searches violated... Instead of that, Judge Yankwich followed the practice of the most reactionary judges. He allowed the immigration officials to have their way, and sent Graham to jail."

* * *

(A. L. Wirin on Judge Yankwich in "Open Forum", Feb. 19, 1938).

It may be that Judge Yankwich can find support in the dead letter of the law for his jailing of a stubborn fearless idealist.... In any event, and irrespective of what may be found in the law books, (and it is always easy for a lawyer or judge to find language in the books that seem to justify an opinion arrived at) one looks in vain through Judge Yankwich's decision for words of high spirit, of sensitive humannes, of deep understanding, of prophetic fearlessness."

In placing before the members of the American Civil Liberties Union and its friends, the above material, I wish only to add this fact: the Circuit Court of Appeals has only recently remanded the case of Graham back to Judge Yankwich and that Mr. Wirin is still the attorney for Graham in behalf of the ACLU. Thus the inviting tonight of Judge Yankwich becomes an indefensible act of insult to all those that have entrusted the local officials of the ACLU with the positions that they occupy.

Marcus Graham

THREE HISTORICAL EVENTS: THE PARIS COMMUNE,

PARIS, March 18, 1871.—What a flood of emotions is awakened at the mention of this memorable date! Before one's eyes rise up the barricades of the proclaimed Commune of Paris. The people had willed an end to every form of exploitation and rulership. The eyes of the oppressed in every part of the globe looked and hoped for the triumph of an unprecedented experiment. The exploiters and rulers of the world were busily engaged in secretly scheming the crushing of the Commune. For the triumph of the Commune would have implied an end to injustice and inequality.

The great experiment of the Commune of Paris came to an end on May 26, 1871. Hardly ten weeks was its period of duration. To some of us it may mean but a brief span. Certainly it was not so to the Communards. The ruling class was triumphant. It staged, through its army, a wanton massacre in which close to 30,000 communards were cold-bloodely murdered! It was a massacre of vengeance. Vengeance against the oppressed who had attempted to emancipate themselves.

What brought about the collapse of the Paris Commune?

A lone Commune in Paris was foredoomed. It could only have succeeded had it spread from city to city within the whole length and breadth of France as well as in country after country. But the curse of the Paris Commune which prevented it from spreading was the leadership to which the Communards had entrusted their faith. It was this leadership that had prevented the abolishment of property rights and did its best to appear as conservative as possible in order to court the favor of the very people against whom the Communards had risen in rebellion. The leadership of the Paris Commune served as the lever which broke the backbone of the Commune.

This has been the great lesson of the Paris Commune, the first great attempt of the oppressed of any land to free themselves socially as well as politically.

It was this attempt made by the Commune and its carrying on for more than nine long weeks, amidst an armed world of enemies, that became the symbol for the world's oppressed. And as long as but a single human being remains in human bondage, the Paris Commune will remain a noble symbol for the world's oppressed.

* * *

KRONSTADT, March, 1921—Fifty years had already elapsed since the inauguration of the Paris Commune. The oppressed, not of one lone city but a whole country, had risen in rebellion, had overthrown Czarism. And, as in the instance of the Paris Commune, the people of Russia who carried on the October revolution also hoped to put an end to every form of exploitation and rulership. Again history repeated itself! The entrusted leaders put the breaks on the true aims of the October revolution.

The rebellion of the Kronstadt soldiers and sailors was against the leadership that was stopping the march of the Revolution. It was truly a rebellion of the more sincere elements within the Communist party that was enthroned as the ruling power over Russia. Every issue of their daily newspaper (excerpts from some of these issues will be found on this page) substantiates this in full.

The Kronstadt Rebellion met with the same terrible fate as did the Paris Commune. It was drowned in blood, drowned in blood not by the henchmen of the Czar, but massacred at the behest of the very leaders of their own Party and Government—Nicholas Lenin and Leon Trotsky! The Paris Commune had met its defeat at the hands of imported soldiers. The rebels of Kronstadt were murdered by soldiers who were their comrades. Thus, we see that the reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune and the reasons for the failure of the Kronstadt Rebellion were almost identically one and the same. Those placed at the helm of the new State in Russia misused the trust which had been placed in them and sought to stop the onward march of the Revolution. The greatest mistake of all in the downward march of the Revolution in Russia was the fact that the people who had really brought about the October Revolution allowed the erection of any kind of a State whatsoever. This fact was not even realized by the massacred Kronstadt sailors or by the thousands of other victims at the hands of the same Government.

Kronstadt has not as yet become that symbol of heroism, courage and fortitude which the Paris Commune signifes to the world's oppressed. And for this, too, the blame must be given to the marxian rulers of Russia. Not satisfied with having brought about the cold-blooded murder of their own erstwhile comrades of yesterday, the Bolshevik Government had the shameless audacity and boldness to besmirch these same massacred comrades with the lying and false stigma of "counter-revolutionists"!

But history has a way of breaking through every avenue of falsehood and deception. And, sooner or later, the Kronstadt Rebellion is destined to become—for the oppressed of the world—a symbol more inspiring than that of the Paris Commune.

* * *

SPAIN, July 19, 1936.—This day marks the inauguration of a counter-revolution abetted by fascist Italy and nazi Germany, through their puppet Franco, and secretly sanctioned by the imperialist rulers of England and France. The infamous acts of deceit performed by the "Non-intervention Committee" not only proved the duplicity of England and France but equally so that of all other false democratic rulers, including the marxian rulers of Russia. Without this deceptive Committee, the solidarity of the oppressed throughout the world might have prevented the ultimate triumph of the Franco gangsters.

That the collapse of Barcelona, without even an attempt to defend itself, implied also the complete collapse of the entire heroic struggle by the people of Spain was a foregone conclusion. The manner in which the loyalist governmental officials gave up the struggle and ran from one place to another in order to save their skins runs true to form and shows what every sort of government does under similar circumstances. That the Loyalist government of anti-fascists proved to be no different from other governments may be a surprise only to those who cling to the belief that "good men" make a government "brave" and "good". Governments all over the world rule not for a single moment by the "grace" of reason but solely by force. The business of Government, therefore, is the business of the gangster. And the less armed gangster will always flee from the superior brand of gangsters. The sole victims in every struggle where the people follow the dictates of any Government are the people themselves. It is the people who are always forced to pay the high toll of any war.

* * *

The role which the tragedy of Spain will play in all future struggles of the oppressed of the world will probably be far greater than is realized. Its lessons are innumerable. The spontaneous defense by the people against the fascist hordes, the great experimental Communes, the sabotaging of these communal attempts by the "anti-fascist front government" to the point of forcefully liquidating them, the government's attempt to please the charlatans ruling under the shield of democracy—all these events will become unforgettable lessons for future struggles of humanity. In this sense, Spain's heroic struggle and disastrous defeat may yet come to play a far more important role in the future than that which the Paris Commune and Kronstadt Rebellion have played until now.

In the meantime, however, there are those who always lurk in the dark for an opportunity—such as that offered by the Spanish tragedy—to capitalize politically on every misfortune. And a leading character in this field is none other than Leon Trotsky. It is in dealing with his attempt to exploit the defeat of the struggle in Spain that we are enabled to comprehend more thoroughly those very lessons which Trotsky and his ilk never intended to convey but which will, nevertheless, enable us to gain a better and clearer understanding of the true causes that brought about the defeat of the Paris Commune, the Kronstadt Rebellion and the struggle in Spain.

Following is an excerpt from "The Tragedy of Spain"—an article written by Leon Trotsky and appearing in "The Socialist Appeal" of Feb. 10, 1939.

> "The Spanish proletariat gave proof of extraordinary capacity for initiative and revolutionary heroism. The revolution was brought to ruin by petty, despicable and utterly corrupted "leaders." The downfall of Barcelona signifies above all the downfall of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of Anarchism, rotten to its core. Forward to a new road, workers! Forward to the road of the international Socialist revolution!"

In the opening sentence of this paragraph of summary, Trotsky asserts that:

> "The Spanish proletariat gave proof of extraordinary capacity for initiative and revolutionary heroism."

No one can or will deny this. What the Spanish proletariat accomplished has been along the lines of the contention of the anarchists from the days of Bakunin. It was only Marx and all his disciples who never trusted or had any faith in the capabilities, initiative and revolutionary heroism of the masses.

If Leon Trotsky had been sincere and clear-sighted enough to admit an error, he would have written the same sentence somewhat in this vein: The Spanish proletariat, in giving proof of its extraordinary capacity for initiative and revolutionary heroism, has conclusively demonstrated the utterly fallacious marxian conception of lack of faith in the masses.

The second sentence of Trotsky's summary reads:

> "The revolution was brought to ruin by petty, despicable and utterly corrupted leaders."

It is in this sweeping statement that one can

The Kronstadt Rebellion

The Steps of the Revolution

(Published March 12, 1921 in the Izvestia)

"The Communist Party has usurped the power, pushing aside the Workers and Peasants in whose names they act. The Peasant was turned into an ordinary hireling, the Workers were made wage slaves in the State factories. The brain workers were degraded altogether. The time had come when it was necessary to do away with the Commissariat autocracy. Kronstadt, the ever-wakeful guard of the revolution was not sleeping. She was first in March and October, and today she is again the first to unfold the banner of the third revolution, the revolution of the workers.

"The autocracy has fallen. The Constituent Assembly is a thing of the past. The Commissariat-autocracy will also fall. The time has arrived for a real workers' Power, the Power of the Soviets!"

Why We Are Fighting

(An article in the Izvestia, daily bulletin of the Kronstadt "Provisional Revolutionary Committee", March 12, 1921.)

"The patience of the workers is at an end. Already throughout the country, can be recognized, here and there, the first signs of revolt againt a system of violence and suppression. The workers went out on strike, but the Bolshevist gendarmes were on watch and used all methods by which to strangle the third revolution at the very start. But in spite of this, it has broken out, and it is the workers themselves who called it forth....

"Here in Kronstadt the foundation was laid for the third revolution which has broken through the road of Socialism. Our revolution will show the workers of East and West, that this which has been done until now bears no relation to Socialism.

"The Workers and Peasants are marching forward. They leave behind the National Assembly with the Burgeois regime, as well as the Dictatorship of the Communist party with her "extraordinary commission", and her State Capitalism, which strangles the people like the rope of the hangman".

Appeal to Red Soldiers and Sailors

(Published March 13, 1921 in the Izvestia)

"The 12th of March we have risen in Kronstadt against the accursed yoke of the Communists and have unfolded the red flag of the Third Revolution of the Workers.

"Red soldiers, sailors, workers! The Revolutionary Kronstadt appeals to you.

"We know that you are being fooled, that you are not told the truth as to what is happening with us. You are not told that we are ready to lay down our lives for the holy cause of freeing the Workers and Peasants. It is aimed at making you believe, that white guards and priests are the leaders of the "provisional revolutionary committee." In order to make an end of all these lies we reprint the names of the members of our committee:

Petrichenko, serving in the bureau of the steam liner, "Petropavlovsk"; Jakovenko, telephone operator in the Telephone department of Kronstadt; Asozov, electrician of the "Sevastopol"; Archipav, first machinist; Patruchov, first electrician of the Petropavlovk; Kupelov, doctor; Vershinna, sailor of the "Sevastopol"; Tukin, worker in the electrical works; Romenko, clerk of repairing the ships; Oreshin, overseer in the third workers' school; Pavlov, ammunition worker; Baikov, administrator of the railroad festungen (repairs); Valk, leader in a wooden sawery; Kilgast, a sailor."

Appeal to Proletariat of the Whole World

(Published March 13, 1921 in the Izvestia)

"Twelve days ago a number of true heroes, workers, red soldiers and sailors have been separated from the whole world to endure the wild attacks of the Cummunist hangmen. We estand firm to the cause which we have made ours; to free the people from the yoke which the fanaticism of a party has set upon, and we shall die with the outcry "Long Live the Free Chosen Soviets! Comrades, we are in need of your moral support. Protest against the violent acts of the Communist autocrats!"

* * *

A group of Russian Capitalists in Paris offered 500,000 francs to the Kronstadt rebels which they at once energetically refused. And when some counter revolutionary officers in Paris sent a wire to Kronstadt offering their help, this was the reply of the sailors:

"Remain where you are! We have no use for such as you."

Thousands were murdered by the Communist henchmen, while the workers, through lies, were kept from knowing the real true causes and aims of the Kronstadt uprising.—Reprinted from the "Free Society" of December, 1921, issued clandestinely in U. S.—EDITOR.)

MAN!

A monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

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THE KRONSTADT UPRISING AND SPAIN'S STRUGGLE

evaluate to perfection the entire mental make-up of the marxian jesuit. The condemnation is directed against the individuals composing the loyalist regime, but no mention is made of many other factors that call for exposure. First, who were the leaders that composed the loyalist government? These were chiefly socialists and communists. At certain periods during the loyalist regime, a few anarchists participated in the government. As to the Anarchists' participation in the loyalist government (or for that matter in any government) "MAN!" has at no time condoned such action. It has repeatedly denounced such action as un-anarchistic.

Trotsky refuses to admit (or should we again conclude that he is mentally unable to grasp this?) that the marxian ideology, —whether emanating from Moscow or preached by the various dissenting splinters of Marxism, is far more responsible for the shaping of those policies of compromise that has lead to the disastrous catastrophe in Spain than are the marxian brothers of Trotsky at whom he so gratuitously hurls the accusation of being "petty, despicable and utterly corrupted leaders."

By examining more closely what has happened since July 19, 1936, we are enabled to better understand the great underhand method of distortion whereby Trotsky is trying to emerge as the "historian" and "infante terrible."

When the people arose to answer the counter-revolution of the Franco gansters, they gave a two-fold answer. First, the people turned their defense into a Social Revolution, second, they began the reconstruction of a new society through the establishment of communes on the land and the collectivization of the factories.

The "duly elected" Government against which Franco rose proved its utter bankruptcy and betrayal —as far as the people of Spain were concerned—by the manner in which it reacted. Azana, an old political traitor, refused to believe that the gangster Franco, whom he was about to name as "commander-in-chief of the republican army" had begun a counter revolution. And worst still, the "duly elected" Government refused for days to give arms to the people! The "good socialist" Caballero and his fellow socialists were at that moment in full and complete control. Leon Trotsky, as a deceitful politician, has therefore reason enough for not wanting to place the blame for this indisputable fact on marxian ideology, according to which Caballero and his clique were carrying on their acts of treachery against the people.

But the very people in whom the marxists have so little trust found a way of overcoming the deceitful and impotent "republican" Government. They ignored its whole existence. They went to the armories and took arms with which they defended themselves. They used the two labor organizations—the C. N. T. and U. G. T, as rallying organs through which to carry on their defense and the communalizing of the land and industries.

Gradually, the marxian rulers of a bankrupt regime began to scheme a way of regaining lost prestige and at the same time re-establishing their authoritarian hold over the revolutionary fighting people of Spain. To our great sorrow, we must admit that some of the anarchists of Spain failed to realize this. Worst still, they went to the aid of Caballero and his band. Thus a defunct Government regained its reins of power and assumed control over the revolution at the most opportune moment—when the people had discarded and ignored the very existence of the Government as such.

And what was the result of the new lease on life which the Caballero regime had gained? As in the Paris Commune and as in the Kronstadt Rebellion, this revival of power served only as a means through which every achievement of the Social Revolution was destroyed and one disastrous defeat after another was prepared.

The change from Caballero to Negrin served to make more certain and more swift the doom of the heroic defense of the people and the loss of all the revolutionary gains. The sole aim of the Negrin regime was to please and appease the charlatans of the so-called democracies of Europe and the dictator of Kremlin. When Negrin assumed power, he thought it best to discard the several anarchist cabinet members

Slowly and very insidiously the Negrin regime liquidated the erstwhile established communes and the collective factories. Foreign exploiters were assured that their human exploitation would be resumed once again. The Church was likewise given a new lease on life. Battle after battle was lost. Then came the Kronstadt of Spain—the terrible days of uprising in Barcelona in May, 1937—and its bloody suppression at the hands of the marxian government.

We are the last persons on earth to hurl accusations such as those so boldly hurled by Leon Trotsky. This is not because we believe that there were no sell-outs in Spain. But, on the whole, we do not believe that either Caballero or Negrin and their associates have sold out to the enemy. What we do assert—and in no mistaken terms—is that the marxian ideology can and should be blamed and held responsible for the disastrous end of the Spanish struggle.

A revolution can assure itself of success only if and when it refuses to compromise in its aims and principles. By so doing, it can serve as the spark which will kindle the Revolution in country after country. Had it not been for the establishment of a Bolshevik Government in Russia, the Soviets would have inspired a world-wide revolution. The revolt and the communal experiment in Spain was another grand opportunity for kindling a world revolution. But from a Caballero or Negrin, who compromised with the marxian rulers, we could only expect the disastrous end which has befallen Spain.

The tricks of Leon Trotsky are then self-evident. Instead of blaming his own still-worshipped demi-God —Karl Marx—he attempts to hide and cover up this guilt by hurling accusations at individuals who are blinded by the same ideology that prompted him to order the wholesale massacre of the rebelling soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt.

* * *

We come now to the third sentence of Leon Trotsky's above quoted paragraph.

"The downfall of Barcelona signifies above all the downfall of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of Anarchism, rotten to its core."

The generalities stated in this one sentence are as far from the truth as the first two sentences quoted. The trickster Trotsky reveals himself here in all his glory—rather, in all his ugliness. First, why does Trotsky omit to state that the Second International was the sole creation of all the followers of Karl Marx, afer the latter had wantonly destroyed the First International? Furthermore, for many years, until he helped to create the Third International, Trotsky too was a part of the Second International. Why, then, does Trotsky fail to admit his own participation in the existence of both Internationals and to state that both internationals were always swearing by everything that Karl Marx ever said or did?

Had Trotsky admitted this, he would have had to blame the marxian ideology for the downfall of Barcelona. And, in turn, this blame would become one of which he is no less guilty than are the ghosts of Marx, Engels, Bebel or Lenin.

"...rotten to its core." yes, the ideology that has guided the marxists everywhere.

But to hurl the epithet "rotten to its core" upon Anarchism is the sheerest sort of shameless audacity and dishonesty. Thanks to the unusual strength of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain, the anarchists, as a movement, in so far as they submerged themselves within the C. N. T., have been economical marxists in Spain. And the stride from economical marxism to political marxism is a short one. That is how we can explain and understand what caused the greater part of the anarchists of Spain to put aside their anti-authoritarian ideologies by joining hands with the marxian authoritarians.

Still, is the sole blunder of the anarchists in Spain to be compared with the blunders of the marxian movement that has given forth the Clemenceaus, Millerands, Briands, Noskes, Mussolinis, MacDonalds, Caballeros and Negrins?

And did not the socialist ideology of compromise prepare the ground for the failure of the uprisings in Italy in 1921, for the ascendancy of Mussolini and Hitler to power?

"...rotten to its core." Yes, indeed—the marxian ideology which the Second Socialist International, the Third Communist International and Trotsky's own creation, the Fourth Workers International, is misleading the workers into disaster after disaster—until the entire globe is today threatened to be enveloped by fascism—the offspring of marxism.

* * *

In the two closing sentences of his summary, Leon Trotsky is about as truthful as he is in the other sentences already quoted. He writes:

"Forward to a new road, workers! Forward to the road of the International Socialist Revolution!"

What "new road" has Leon Trotsky in mind? The "socialist" road of course. He says that much in the second sentence. But can this be truthfully called a "new road"? Not by any stretch of the imagination.

In assuming to officiate as the sole righteous disciple who has the right to wear the papal garb of marxism, Trotsky will find it mighty hard to convince workers that the socialist road, so often tried and found misleading, is still worthy of their attention, trust and support.

In fact, the unforgettable historical events causing the defeat of the Paris Commune, the Kronstadt Rebellion (at the direct orders of the same Leon Trotsky) and the Spanish struggle seal the doom of any and all authoritarians who are entrusted with the fate of a people in revolt. These events have shown that a people in revolt must never trust any party or any authoritarian.

* * *

The lessons which the oppressed of the world are to derive from the defeat of The Paris Commune, The Kronstadt Rebellion and Spain are manifold.

First, the masses have at all times and in all places the inherent but dormant abilities to rise in Social revolts against every form of oppression. Second. the masses have likewise the necessary understanding and abilities with which to rebuild the new society along communal lines. Third, the only bulwark always standing in their way and preventing them from bringing their revolts and social transformations to a successful end is the masses' allowing of any form of authority or government to assume the reins over their actions in any walk of life.

The heroism displayed by the Communards of Paris, by the soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt and by the people of Spain will serve as an inspiration to every oppressed human soul throughout the world. This undaunted courage and heroism will spur the peoples of the world to try and try again and again. Fortified by the experiences and lessons derived from these three historical events, the oppressed of the world will march on, from revolt to revolt, until the last vestige of exploitation and rulership of man over men has been discarded forever.

Marcus GRAHAM

This Funny World...

"Actually I am an exceedingly mild mannered person—a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, a believer in the capitalistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs."

There is no use in keeping you in suspense as to who is the personage that made this confession. It is none other than President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The largest armament budgets in the history of this country and the largest number of unemployed that we ever had attest to the truthfulness of the confession....

* * *

"It is no surprise to most of us that the general impression is that the Lima conference was highly successful.... Among the winners were the cable companies, not only in newspaper tolls, but also in the Christmas cables from the friends and relatives of the delegates."—**Franklin P. Adams** in the **N. Y. Post.**

* * *

"City Jobs For 14 Bring A Throng of 4,000 Women"—heading over news story in the pro-Roosevelt N. Y. **Post** of Feb. 9, 1939.

What a compliment to the accomplishments of the "new deal" administration of Mr. Roosevelt and to the **Post** as well....

* * *

A call issued by the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., reads in part:

"....defend the Republic against atheistic propaganda... maintain respect for rightly constituted authority and obedience to lawful administrators...."

The Associated Press carried this as part of a long story on February 11, 1939. This is, of course, in line with the policy of this organization. Suppress all news that may harm the present system of injustice, and playing up age-old misleading practices as news. For, has there ever been any religion that failed to preach obedience to its sheepish followers so that they may never begin to harbor the idea of rebelling against the wolves that devour them?....

* * *

In line with the news stories dished out by the Associated Press is also the poisonous tongue of that hypocritical faker in Michigan, "father" Coughlin. On December 5, 1938, he published a defense of nazism in his weekly "Social Justice."

The New York **Post** came forward on December 30, 1938 with a full exposure of the role of duplicity that Coughlin enacted. Parallel with each paragraph of Coughlin's article the **Post** printed those paragraphs from which they were copied. It was from a speech delivered by Paul Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister of nazi Germany, on Sept. 13, 1935!....

* * *

On March 4th we reached the 150th "anniversary" of the first presentation of the Bill of Rights. Our liberals will, no doubt, have made all sorts of efforts to celebrate. We instead would, to be more correct, rather "commemorate" this event. For the Bill of Rights has long, long ago ceased to be anything but a dead letter.

Proof? The dirty work carried on by the Dies Committee is one. The attempt of keeping former representative Thomas R. Amlie, from taking office on the Interstate Commerce Commission is another. (The chief argument against Amlie is that he had expressed the **"idea of a new social order based upon production for use...."**) Still another proof are the thousands of radicals deported within the last several score of years for harboring thoughts of a new social order. And last, but not least of all proofs, is being furnished by Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who said on February 8, 1939.

"I believe that the government should take immediate and effective steps against any person or organization which offers a clear and present danger to the government of the United States. Treasonable conduct in subversive action can evoke no sympathy, and I am certainly in favor of the punishment or deportation of any one who engages in such conduct".

Lest there be some who may have any doubt as to what might "endanger" the government, the assertion of the head of the government, President Roosevelt that "I am.... a believer in the capitalistic system" supplies the answer.

Yes, this funny world of ours is often enough more tragical than funny.

Bert HILLSIDE

BOOK REVIEW

Ammon A. Hennacy

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR LATIN AMERICA BY CARLETON BEALS J. B. LIPPINCOTT CO. PHILADELPHIA, PA. 1938. Price $3.00

With the conclusion of the Pan-American farce in Lima in December 1938 and the pledge of participating countries to settle disagreements by arbitration rather than by war, the contracts of the armament salesmen from the U. S. can now be O.K.'d with the usual Yankee hypocrisy, and Roosevelt can continue with his super-navy and super-armament program. This book by one who is so well qualified to write on the subject is therefore timely in appearance.

Very few Americans who fought for "democracy" in the First World War had any more than a hazy idea about the geographical and economic position of "poor little Belgium." When our imperialists have fixed up another war for democracy with a Latin American excuse it is likely that the knowledge of the particular Latin American Country whom we are defending will not be any clearer.. Every person interested in the future history of our country should study this book carefully. The author has chosen a method in summarizing his facts and conclusions which is as clear as possible to those of us to whom South America is just a place south of us. He summarizes the spheres of influence of the U. S., Japan, Germany, England, Italy, Spain and the Communists. In the following review it is possible to give only a few high lights. The book itself should be studied.

In the minds of most North Americans, as the Latins call us, there are a few misconceptions which must be corrected before they can understand anything about America as a whole. First, the U. S. is the only country that has seized Latin American countries by force. We have robbed Mexico and Columbia. We are the "Colussus of the North," and the Monroe Doctrine of which we boast is considered in Hispanic America "as a collar of servitude." The summary given by Beals speaks plainly: **"Many of the present dictatorships in Latin America can be traced to our mistaken policies, our interventions, our political coercion, our loans . . . the folk to the south feel that Roosevelt's administration, is actively supporting tyrannies such as those of Vargas in Brazil, Batista in Cuba, and Benavides in Peru, is betraying the people of the continent . . . Martinez of Salvador, Ubico of Guatemala, Trujillo of Santo Domingo have waded through blood to get where they are and stay there in defiance of the wishes of the people."** In fact all Latin American countries are dictatorships of one kind or another except Mexico, Costa Rica and Columbia.

Most South American countries are nearer Berlin and Rome than they are to New York. The population of these countries have much more in common with Europe than they have with the U. S. We look upon Europe as an armed camp and upon the South American countries as peace loving. In fact we are "merchants of death" to our southern neighbors. They have settled their troubles with our guns for years.

By 1938 we had lost all of the trade we had gained during the World War in South America. Germany has put us in third place in Brazil. We have played into the hands of the sugar trust in Cuba and the Phillipines, have cheated Panama, and a packed American jury has recently placed the head of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico in Leavenworth. The only bright spot in our recent history is our refusal to go to war to collect money for oil barons in Mexico. Upholding a bloody tyrant in Cuba is our worst current crime. (But the latest news dispatches give the Communist Party as also supporting a Popular Front with Batista.)

Beals gives this program for the U. S.: **"Our government should at once get out of the propaganda business in foreign lands. Our government should quit helping out in the dirty armament business. We should at once recall our naval and army missions home from Brazil and Peru and Guatemala, our air mission home from Argentina. We should get rid of our official language of patronizing condescension and superiority."**

Japan's strongest hold is on Peru. There are 350,000 Japs in Latin America. We accuse them of espionage. **"They argue that they have planted no garrisons in Latin America as we have under their noses in China. They have no fortified over-Pacific colonies near our shores as we have near theirs."**

Germany's trade exceeds Britain's in Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, Columbia and Brazil. They have moved into the interior portions of the countries and intermarried.

England is most influential in Argentina. British gun boats in 1789 helped the patriot Miranda free many countries from Spain. England has helped Argentina conduct the Chaco war. However England's **"playing second-fiddle to the Fascist powers has lost much of the respect she once commanded in Latin America . . . that she has connived in every recent aggression against small nations and cannot be depended upon."**

Italy has 2,000,000 Italians in the Argentine and over a million in Southern Brazil. Many also in Uruguay, Paraguay and Peru. When Mussolini grabbed Ethiopia, Archbishop Jose Becker of Porto Alegre, Brazil stated: **"I pray to God that in the present international controversy, intrepid Italy, land of genius, of science, of art, be not humiliated I likewise pray to God to protect Fascist Rome, the Pope's Rome, the seat of Christianity."**

"All countries are Pro-Franco except Costa Rica, Mexico and to a certain extent, Columbia." Argentine has especially helped Franco.

Communism. **"From a long range view, the opportunities of Communism are sufficiently large. The best Bolshevist allies are the ruthless and oppressive governments, which suppress all freedom."** The new party line has caused the Communists to support nationalistic movements which a few years ago they condemned. They helped to create reactionary tyrannies in Cuba, Peru and Brazil and are paving the way for the same thing in Chile, although there they have more deputies than in any other country except Russia. There are very few Russians in South America, except a few in Argentine and Brazil. In Peru the Communists hold fat bureaucratic jobs under politicians whom they formerly called social fascists. In Brazil the Communists supported the Fascist leader Vargas even before the new party line told them to do so.

Brazil is the richest country in the world in point of view of natural resources, many of which have not been developed. Brazil has lined up with Chile, Columbia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Here German influence is stronger. Argentina has very little minerals or coal and has lined up with Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay which is backed by England. Just what new alliances will develop and where the intrigue of our diplomats will place the U. S. in the fight between England and Germany for trade will remain to be seen. One thing is sure and that is that we will not be told the truth of the matter. It is hoped that Beals will write magazine articles or another book concerning further developments in Latin America.

As to Reflections on Liberty

My dear comrade Graham:

In your answer to comrade Labadie, you rightly stand for the complete discarding of the monetary system. This standpoint is the most revolutionary one which from Kropotkin to Berkman any have not pointed out. I give only economic reasons in support of this standpoint.

1.—Money is necessary if exchange is necessary.

2.—There can be exchange if there are proprietors: state and laborers.

3.—If each proprietor exchanges equal values with the other, there would be no advantage to either: exchanging unit for unit will not produce income and cannot allow living to either party.

4.—Hence exchange produces inequality of income and is the beginning of exploitation. It is the source of authoritarianism. All currency is authoritarian. There can be no anarchist money exchange.

The question is not therefore, whether communism or individualism is right in economcis but whether exchange is at all possible in anarchy or do we want new authorities.

Owing to the necessity of each side to exchange with the other for higher value (more units), there can be no stable currency at all. In the exchange process units will have to be sold for more units. Therefore 9 must make 10: must equal 10 or more. Thus each unit is itself diminished in value. Thus currency itself is destroyed by every exchange transaction.

By the process of exchange through a medium (gold, paper, hour or other—no matter which) the acquisition of surplus unit will make that unit the object of exchange—the product produced or the service rendered becoming secondary in value, since the surplus unit can buy the goods and services required by further exchange process, naturally out of the needy. The means thus becomes the object—the medium—ditto.

The trouble with mankind started with the exchange rule adopted by society. The present accumulated evils throughout the world are due to that "original sin", and we are now facing the climax. The exchange mediums—not only gold—are completely broken even under the Bolshevik government. "The fiction being maintained that exchange still functions is only intended to continue fostering the belief that we cannot even conceive the idea of existing without some sort of exchange. The breakdown of every monetary agreement shatters at the same time these fostered fictions. And when the French franc goes off the gold standard, no more exchange and mediums are possible for all of mankind. It will mark the end of all authoritarianism and states. And for any one calling himself an anarchist—attempting to suggest a new exchange medium—is preposterous.

Some anarchists and the syndicalists think there should be exchange of raw materials and the finished product between town and country. That cannot be since less city products can only be given for the country products. Injustice is bound to ensue in the exchange process.

The solution can only be reached by putting city and country products together and distributing them according to population at so much per head.

The exchange system not only makes exchange of goods impossible but also makes the exchange medium impossible. Rather by making the medium the fetish and in order to establish it, it makes exchange of goods impossible, since it is useless to exchange equal values. Exchange and production of goods is useless and even detrimental to the exchange medium unless the surplus units result therefrom, which can only be for one party.

Corporations are cutting off foreign trade for the sake of curency stability. By cutting off foreign trade, owing to the deficits caused by outsiders—the whole economic fundamentals in every country are breaking up with increasing internal trade depressions, unemployment and stoppage of production. The complete chaos is very near in every country with or without wars and revolutions. Neither fascism nor bolshevism have any influence over this economic tendency.

When the real break-up will set in, no trade, currency and exchange will be able to function any longer —despite the power wielded by the State everywhere.

Anarchy—is far nearer realization than many imagine.

* * *

Those anarchists, communists, syndicalists and individualists who believe exchange and mediums of exchange are necessary will be sadly awakened (when complete the break-up sets in) for dreaming in those terms of old-atavism. I warn them against the danger and ask them to get prepared for other methods if they want to save humanity from this "civilization" which sinks like the Titanic against the iceberg of exchange.

M. P. T. ACHARYA

A Skeleton in Mussolini's Closet

In 1932 an Italian exile in Paris, Armando Borghi, published a book called "Mussolini en Chemise." The title may be translated roughly as "Mussolini in His Undershirt." It was a brilliant analysis of the dictator's hectic past, containing much that Il Duce preferred to forget. A translation of a revised edition has just been published here under the title, "Mussolini: Red and Black." (*)

What makes the book particularly timely is the Chamber of Deputies session at which Mussolini's henchmen, as well trained as a bunch of Hollywood extras, staged a "spontaneous" demonstration for the annexation of French-owned Tunis, Corsica, Nice and Savoy. The occasion chosen was a significant one. The new French Ambassador arrives accredited to the King of Italy and "Emperor of Ethiopia"; in return for the friendly gesture, Il Duce opens a campaign to seize French territory.

The incident rattles one of the many skeletons in Il Duce's well filled closet. Mr. Borghi tells the story in his book. Back in 1911 the Italian government, in a tight spot at home, decided on a little foreign adventure and began a war against Turkey for the seizure of Tripoli. A man named Masetti became a popular hero by shooting his Colonel when he was ordered to go to war; the government was afraid to try him; it put him in an insane asylum instead. The case became a cause celebre.

Foremost among the agitators who took up the Masetti case was a certain Benito Mussolini. He assailed the Tripolitan war as an attempt to get the minds of the Italian people off their troubles at home. In his most flamboyant radical style he upheld the "sacred right" to assassinate tyrants. Masseti is still in jail in Italy; mention of his name is forbidden in the press. We wonder whether Mussolini will think of Masetti and of that "sacred right" as he sets in motion threats of a new colonial war.—New York **POST.**

*Otainable through "MAN!" at 75 cents per copy, post paid.

Strachey Forced Out of United States

With the Department of Labor indefinitely postponing determination of his case, John Strachey, British author and lecturer, reluctantly departed for England last week following a short hearing at Ellis Island. The Civil Liberties Union had successfully contested in the courts the revocation of his visa by the American consul in London after he sailed for New York on a lecture tour last October.

Commenting on Strachey's departure, his attorney, Arthur Garfield Hays, Union counsel, said:

"Despite the favorable decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals denying the right of a consul to revoke a visa once issued, Mr. Strachey was unable to remain in the United States for the long period required to see the proceedings through. The government declined to indicate whether it would appeal from the decision of the Circuit Court, and the Department of Labor took the position that it would not in any event grant Mr. Strachey a hearing until the Supreme Court decided the Strecker case involving the deportation of a member of the Communist Party.

"Some of us feel that in this whole case there has been a lack of fair play. Strachey stayed for this long time so as not to let down his American friends who are ashamed of the way our Government has behaved. We could not expect Strachey to make further sacrifices. In a waiting game, the Government was sure to win. Strachey came to visit, not to stay."

Strachey remained in the United States in order to contest the revocation of his visa but was prevented from lecturing by a condition of the bail on which he was released.

Mr. Hays further stated that "if the Supreme Court sustains the lower court in the Strecker case, Mr. Strachey can presumably not again be excluded from the United States because the government could not even raise the question of his alleged Communist Party membership. If the Supreme Court reverses the lower court, Mr. Strachey would be in no worse position in seeking admission again than he is now. We are confident from our knowledge of Mr. Strachey's views, fully expressed in his numerous books, that he cannot be excluded from the United Stantes under our present laws."

—PRESS SERVICE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

ART and LITERATURE

The Historic-Biographical Novel

(Its essence and meaning)

The historic novel is not a new phenomenon in European literature. The most famous and acknowledged representations of this literary style may be classed Flaubert's "Salammbo". To this style also belongs such gigantic work as Tolstoi's "War and Peace".

In the course of the past fifteen years this old literary form went through a certain development. If the former historic novel took as its main object a particular epoch ("Salammbo"—the epoch relating to the destruction of Carthage by the Romans; "War and Peace"—Napoleon's war on Russia; and incidentally, certain fragments of this biographic moment can already be detected in "War and Peace" —the figures of Napoleon and Kutusoff, for example), the historic novel of today takes as its main object a certain character who serves as an optical sphere through which is reflected the given epoch. The historic novel has changed to biographic, or, as we might term it,—an anti-thesis to the true biography in a purely historic novel—historic-biographic. From a romantic epoch (Walter Scotts' romantic novels) it became romantic character. Certainly, this changed form in the historic novel did not entirely eliminate its old form, but it did become the dominating.

In recent years there has been a flood of the biographic novel. Not only did the literary scribes, who supply the publishing houses with whole serials of romantic biography, take to this craft, but also such full-fledged romanticists as Jacob Wasserman. This accomplished romanticist of the Balzacian school could not withstand the temptation of modern vogue, and so he has written two biographic novels about Columbus and the explorer Stanley. More and more European authors of fame (Henrich Mann, Bruno Frank, Andrew Maurois and others) are trying their skill at this old-renewed literary form. Even in Soviet Russia where the literature orbiates chiefly around the construction process—socialistic realism—the historic-biographic novel is becoming widespread. Among the historic romanticists is especially known Yourii Tinianoff with his Dekabrist novel "Kukhlia".

* * *

There are many critics who are inclined to dispose of the whole theme with a shrugging remark: oh well, it's only a fad for the time being.

The extraordinary circulation of this new literary style can certainly be ascribed to the vogue of our time; the success of Emil Ludwig's and Stephen Zweig's half-or-whole belletristic biographies certainly found many imitators. Yet, just as we cannot disqualify, all poetry because thousands of cheap untalented verses are being created, we, likewise; cannot repudiate a literary style just because it got into fashion and for each good book there are scores of bad ones. Not every fashion by the way, must absolutely be bad.

A serious complaint against the historic-biographic novel is advanced by the well known German radical publicist and thinker Kurt Heeler. The historic novel—he argues—is reactionary, because it departs from the present. As an illustration he cites Stephen Zweig's "Mary Stuart".

In this particular case (and in many such cases) we must agree with him. "Mary Stuart" offers a fine psychological study, a sensational-interesting lecture, very talently produced and in mature-written technic. But what are we concerned about the dispute between the two queens—the English Elizabeth and the Scottish Mary? Their battle for the Crown and for power is so far apart from our interest and personal worries—that either we put the book aside in the midst of reading it, or else it draws us away from our intricate problems (at the same time failing to carry us away to those elevating intimacies of human spheres that, notwithstanding their far-away remotness from our daily life, they nevertheless always are momentous for our spiritual existence).

But is this negative influence related directly to the form of the historic-biographic novel? Is it not possible for a historic novel to fill us with a stream of emotion? Does not Zweig's "The Triumph and Tragedy of Erasmus of Rotterdam" wake in us the actual problems of Life? And besides, it is not absolutely necessary for the historic novel to clasp itself directly with our contemporary present; it is sufficient if it only envisions into the inner depthness of a human life and into the tragedy of a by-gone epoch. The depth of human tragedy is always actual, because it always reacts in like manner, if not in form it is in quality. Such an important historic-biographic novel is Bruno Frank's "Cervantes". He does not directly treat with problems that are vital for our daily life. But at the same time he does not move us away from them with those cheap, flimsy-psychological tales about the intrigues of Kings and Princesses that lived in a glorious past, but glues our attention to the tragic fate of a great writer, who waned away—without accounting it to himself—in the Empire world of the Catholic Monarch Philip II of Spain.

Right at the beginning of the book, we acquaint ourselves with this Catholic monarch. The first scene is of such masterful impression that we can observe Philip's whole being. He casts his dark shadow over the whole epoch, and in this cold, black shadow chills the soul of Cervantes, while his natural talent is riping in the course of almost all his life. And when Cervantes, already aged, is imprisoned for unpaid debts, and there he writes his "Don Quixote" and in the evenings reads it to the cell-mates, we become horrified at the tragic scene. The prisoners chuckle with tears in their eyes at the portrayed scene when Don Quixote liberates the doomed to hard labor from their shackles and the guard together with the freed prisoners (as often happens in a story of indiviuals and nations) stone their liberator;—still in all, the prison seems to be the only place in the Spanish Empire where Cervantes could obtain a reading for his masterpiece (and not only reading it; he could also create his work there, where he is free from worrying about his daily bread). The other part of the Empire lies under the devastating shadow of the tyrant—Philip II. Yet—a thought flashes through the reader's mind—Cervantes' work to this day remains alive, while Philip's world-Empire long since has fallen apart and his own dark shadow loses more and more in the struggle with the Spanish sun. What vitality does the free spirit of humanity possess! What comfort this is in a time of reaction as our present.

The historic novel can also have a direct relation to our contemporary period, with all the problems and tribulations that torment our every-day existence. Let us take such an historic-biographic novel as Henrich Mann's "The Youth of King Henry IV". The book is not only artistically profound—and, of course, is also not reactionary or misleading by cheap sensationalism—but casts voluminous light upon the contemporary struggle between the Huguenots (Protestants) and the Catholics—a conscientious struggle! In the center of the work stands the historic St. Bartholomew's Eve, and the Catholic League, who dominates France by means, well known to us now through Germany, Italy, etc. We read it as though it were a cryptographic description of our time, of our fate. In the end, Henry IV emerged victorious, who, far from representing human idealism, he nevertheless embodied in himself the political and purely-human progress, because in him is implanted a common human trait, the invigorating nature which is in opposition to the pervertive cruelism of a decayed world that is embodied in the executioners of St. Bartholomew Night.

No, "The Youth of King Henry IV" did not draw Henrich Mann away from his daily struggles, from reality, and neither are we, his readers, disunited from it. On the contrary,—he unites us with it more strongly through his fine portrayals, through expressed emotions.

What does a good historic-biographic novel need to possess? Deep-psychology biography and instructive knowledge of the epochal history; scholarly treatment of problems, ideological aim-consciousness and artistic form. The artist must have as his main object the presentation of a chapter of history; to illuminate the ideological controversies and problems through the medium of a historical personage, who influenced a certain period or became influenced by it. This aim can be satisfactorily realized only when the author possesses a psychological idea, an ability to intuitively detect the missing historical threads, a broad and thorough knowledge of history, a profound mental conception of worldly affairs and a strong plastic talent for the written word.

Let us take as example the aforementioned novel. Henrich Mann's "King Henry IV" is not a tendencial work, i. e., it does not corrupt the artistic truth for the sake of an avowed purpose; yet it may also be considered a work with a tendency, i. e., with an idea that is glowing through the whole texture of the book, every cell in it is like the soul within the body. The book is written with great imaginary skill: King Henry's life and struggle, his environment and his influence, the epoch, the bad angel of the Bartholomew Night—the old Catharine de Medici,—all that is presented in plastic life, natural, convincing. At first we are miraculously impressed in this, our impetuous era, by its broad epochal narrative style, the remote details of an epoch that is, so its seems, dead to our actuality, to our realistic vision. But when we come close to the end of the book we behold a strong light upon the treaded road; Henrich Mann's political observation, his ideological framing of the European tragedy is organically ingrowing with the objective artistic presentation of the material and is naturally revealing itself like the revelation of a ripened thought in a human being after a prolonged development. By placing directly opposite Henry IV the Herzog of Lorraine, the organizer of the Catholic League; by placing directly opposite Henry's mother, the ideal Huguenot champion, the blood-thirsty Catharine de Medici, Mann threw an illuminating light upon the conflicting struggle of that period. He plastically incorporated the essence of every creative historical knowledge: Drawing from it solace and courage for the future—to make the past creative for the future instead it should hang over us like a lead weight when swimming toward it.

And how impressive does the leading hero, Henry IV, appear? He envigorates the weaker life-element in his joy and candidness, in his devotion and in his valiance. He is not being idealized; he is not portrayed as a hero, as a saint, or something similar; on the contrary, he is oftentimes very restrained, frivolous and not visionary, but he is always honest—like an element of nature—he always has in him something of the creative life-impulse in contrast to his opponents, the Bartholomew-heroes who possess an element of destructive egotism.

And when at the end of the book we draw our final conclusion and perceive the idea propounded therein, we are overtaken by the transpired objectivity, by its true belief.

What concerns the broad and deep historic erudition that the historic novel must plastically, without hardship, convey to us, can serve as splendid example the aforementioned novel "Cervantes". The book as a whole is not very large. But you gain through it a mental view, not only in Cervantes' life, but also in the whole life of the epoch, of Philip's Empire, of Philip himself, as a symbol of that era. (And by the way, it serves also as an antipode to Henry IV, who emerges the victor, one who is bounded together with the righteous life-struggle). The last chapter, when Philip is in the shadow of death and he then compares his life with the life of the hated and frivolous King of France, the work is historically more entertaining than dozens of thick volumes of historic works. Or let us take another very eruditional chapter. Cervantes falls into slavery by sea-pirates of Algeria. It is an episode of his biography. Yet Bruno Frank does not give us this episode in its isolation, but as a relation to Cervantes' biography. We learn from it an unlimited amount of news about Algeria: The inherent story of this land that thrived only on piracy and did not attempt to produce anything; we learn about the whole political situation of that time; the reader is led into a new world which he cannot very soon forget.

A good historic novel can in this way play an important part as an educational factor, as a thought-cultivator of the possessed knowledge.

The illustrations could be multiplied either from the aforecited works or from others ("Ignace of Loyola" by Ludwig Marcuse; "Samson" by Jabotinsky; "Tichbrae's Way to God" by Max Brod and a good many other worthy historic-biographic novels), but those cited are sufficient to illustrate the aforesaid with regards to the elements which are necessary for creating a worthy historic-biographic novel.

I. RAPAPORT

(English version from the Jewish by Samuel Polinow)

CHAOS

Drowned in a wave of electrical chaos
Bulbs flecking like radiant heart stabs
Unfamiliar inhabitants, opening cunnic
Tunnels—bursting molecules to immeasurable
Dimmensions, all in abysmal cast.
Mad signs covetous without stint
Mist lit quarters choking with oldness
And rotten as the structure thereof
Lips slept with sneer and cruel acceptance
The eternal policeman with his badge
Republican democrat socialist communist
The engineers tombed in hometown
Parks, labour organizing for
Its rewards hanging by its throat
The negro chained to iron hatred
Swiftness of light not like civilization
The underlying abysmal gulf
Between this and this and death and death.

Vincent FERRINI

A HAT

A hat sits upon a head
and reasons from above down:
One needs luck in everything,
even to a head.
Some heads
are occupied with fine thoughts;
a bright face
brightens the hat.
My head is troubled;
always worrying.
I hardly recognize myself in the mirror.
I almost look like my master.
I sometimes dream that I am he.
That I —a hat—should worry about shoes!

A. LUTZKY

(Translated from the Yidish by Harry Block)

THE WHORE OF SINGAPORE

Strange ships have come to Singapore,
Some bringing men bad to the core;
But once a girl from Shanghai came
To burn her life in lustful shame.
Down of the seething water front
The men from ships she went to hunt.

One night the whore of Singapore
Lie dying in a hop filled dive
When, forgetting that eating sore,
Her eyes again burned bright... alive!
"My name is Gin... Ginnie McGee"...
She said... "daughter of Admiral Lee...."

"Listen, you lug," said the dying girl,
Her mind on fire with death's giddy whirl....
"Bend over sailor men and hear my tale....
It's really no story... just a woman's wail."

The British fleet one day came
To Shanghai's crimson shore....
My mother, a Nankin whore....
Was smitten with lustful flame—
It was Admiral Lee who took her young
And from her womb to life I sprung.

My mother died... the admiral sailed....
But sailor man... I only wailed,
Then walked the streets—a bastard Lee,
To catch the sailors from the sea...."
Ginnie paused—her eyes were sad....
There were tears in the eyes of the lad....

"The admiral," he said. "was my dad!"

William Allen WARD

It is the duty of writers not to accuse, not to prosecute, but to champion even the guilty once they have been condemned and are undergoing punishment.

—ANTON CHEKHOV.

H. WEINBERG: An Historical Figure

Samuel Polinow

Death has called upon one of the greatest figures that ever lived in the Anarchist movement. The cruel end came to H. Weinberg, the most beloved and respected comrade, on January 26. He died in a near-Philadelphia hospital at the age of 79.

The passing of H. Weinberg, though he died at the age when all life must return from whence it came, was nevertheless an unexpected shock to the radical circles of Philadelphia. For Weinberg was a historic figure in this community, where most of his life he devoted to organizing the workers of many trades in strong unions and to preaching of his ideal philosophy: Anarchism.

Weinberg is here no more. The Final Curtain has rung down on this interesting personality, but his living days have been so rich in intellectual resources and so inspirational to his wide circle of friends and comrades that the memory of him shall not pass unto obscurity. The name of this true and sincere idealist shall animate all those who stand for freedom and justice. Those who remain here to carry on the great struggle shall learn of Him who has just passed unto the beyond.

WEINBERG THE LABOR AGITATOR

Yes, that was the enviable name given him by the rank-and-file of the working class; a name he really and truly deserved. A brief history of the service he rendered to the labor movement will explain his rise to such a high and meritorious rank:

In 1886, when the great stream of Jewish immigrants flowed to the New World in search for a means of livelihood H. Weinberg then emigrated from Russia and landed on these shores. Like the many thousands of his brothers-in-misery who then swarmed into the sweatshops and basements to earn a piece of bread for their hungry families, he joined the ranks of the indigent and obtained work in the cigar-making trade. Fired from one sweatshop and hired by another, he kept toiling under the most horrible conditions that then existed in the industrial field.

Out of these sweatshops rose Weinberg. Nature, it seems, had gifted him with an extraordinary talent for oratory as well as a rebellious spirit. His voice soon penetrated every nook and corner where human backs were bent in making profit for the bourgeois masters. He saw the inhuman suffering of his brother workers; he saw the dire want of their dependants, and the rebellious spirit that was in him demanded that he shall rouse the workers against an exploitation that was unequal in the history of human slavery.

Organize! Join the Union! Demand a living wage! were the slogans Weinberg sent to every shop, every cellar, and every attic where in those days Jewish immigrants toiled from early morning till far away in deep night.

His blasting words reached the ears of the toiling masses, who soon realized the plight of their condition and began to think of joining the union. Soon they acclaimed Weinberg as their spiritual leader and looked to him for guidance in the great awakening, which then seemed as dangerous as riding a volcano. Weinberg did not fail them. On his cane-supported leg he kept limping from platform to platform, his captivating oratory, which he always enlivened with a healthy humor, held his audiences spellbound. They would have followed him through hell and thunder had he so commanded. But Weinberg was not a "leader" in the true sense of the word. (he never could succeed as a paid official). His oratorical delivery resembled more the eloquence of a satarist than bombasting speechmaking. Yet, he was sincere in his aim and true to his ideal. And while his listeners, during a Weinberg speech, were very frequently thrown into hillarious outbursts at a humorous ejaculation they knew what he wanted and worshipped him as a high priest is worshipped by a congregation of true disciples.

The history of the Jewish labor movement in America, particularly in the city of Philadelphia, is closely connected with H. Weinberg. The Jewish trade unions in Philadelphia, which are now strongly organized and are in a position to command better living conditions for the workers, owe much to the effort of this "labor agitator", whom Death has now taken from our ranks. He not only worked untiringly to help build these unions but taught and reared the workers of the needle industry, the baker industry, the carpenters, and many of the various trades, to be and remain conscientious union members.

Fifty years of his life Weinberg gave to the cause of the working class. Their cause became his ideal aim in life. Their plight was his plight. Their struggle was his struggle. He marched with them in victory and encouraged them in defeat. He was their spokesman, their father, their champion for a better world to live in.

WEINBERG THE ANARCHIST.

When speaking from the platform, Weinberg never failed to proclaim to his listeners that he was a firm believer in the Anarchist ideal.

If ever a biography of Weinberg is written it will be hard to ascertain how he came to accept the Anarchist philosophy. Obviously he had read Anarchist literature, and most assuredly became influenced by it. But more likely it is that he had been born an Anarchist. His passionate, almost fanatical belief in the cause of human freedom for which he pleaded all his lifetime, whether from the platform or in private conversation, gives evidence of an idealism that was inborn rather than persuasive. It is characteristic of the man that in his lectures or conversations on the anarchist theory of a free social order he seldom availed himself of the vast knowledge he acquired in the study of Anarchist literature. Rather than to illustrate by scientific facts the functioning of an anarchist form of society, as laid down by the authors of Anarchist philosophy, he employed a most unique and simple method to convince his listeners of its possibility. He spoke to them as man to man. To a group of bakers he would say: "Do you think a senator is as useful to society as any one of you bakers?" And to the needle-workers: "Do you think a governor could make as good a pair of pants as you can?" And to others: "Do you need a policeman to tell you when to go to sleep?"

Here is this argument he gave to an opponent in a debate on Anarchism. The opponent complained bitterly that in an Anarchist society he could not please his culinary taste with a dish of noodles, because, he lamented; who would be interested to prepare special dishes for him? Then Weinberg's turn came.. Striking his charasteristic humorous pose he said, not without the usual gesticulation: Weinberg doesn't want noodles; he wants ravioli (this is a finer dish). What do you suppose Weinberg would do? He would go to the store and get a few pounds of flour, some eggs, butter; baking soda; then he would go home and make enough ravioli to last him a season.

This is how he argued for his ideal philosophy. At times he turned intellectual, too; for he was an ardent student of all that was written or spoken. But always he liked the simple method of persuasion. And always, without exception, he would wind up his discourses with a favorite declaration of his: we should aim to live in a society where there are no rulers and no ruled.

Himself a product of the people, he spoke to them in a manner understandable only to common folk.

WEINBERG TURNS PHILOSOPHER.

Age gradually began to tell on this hard-bitten soldier of the masses. No longer could he "take arms against a sea of troubles". This is the destiny of all men. And so, nearing the age when Time calls all men from the scene of battle, Weinberg retired from active service and settled down on a small piece of open prarie sorrounded by brushwood and farm trees, and; with the assistance provided him by some trade Unions—in gratitude for his past services—made his home there.

A new chapter has since then been written in the life of Weinberg. His name attracted visitors from every part of the country. People from far and wide pilgrimaged to Weinberg's "Yasnai Poliana" as some were wont to call it. A visit to Weinberg meant a spiritual gratification, for Weinberg never let a moment pass without intellectual discussion. Like the wise Athenian, he would be sitting on a reclining chair, and invariably would open a discussion on some topic that would either date back to ancient Greek sophistry or present day economic depression. The logic and reasoning with which he treated every subject of discussion could only equal the mind of genius.

It was an interesting period for the Old Sage. He derived unlimited pleasure in this secluded place where he could give himself up to intellectual meditation. From time to time he left his peaceful abode and went on a lecture tour. From time to time a Union would call upon him to come out from his retreat to deliver an encouraging speech to striking workers. At one time—in 1933—he joined a cooperative colony that was organized in Michigan State (at his age). But always he returned to his favorite chair on the farmland, where he found his friends and comrades with whom he always talked of the great disappointments present-day Fascism has wreaked on thinking humanity, and at the same time instilling in them new hope, new encouragement in the fate of the coming social order.

THE DECLINING DAYS OF WEINBERG

In the last stages of his life the old veteran felt the inevitable end approaching. He still greeted his visitors with the customary wide H-e-ll-o! He still made every effort to converse with them on the political affairs of the day. Spain, Barcelona, Fascism, were now uppermost in his mind. How he wanted to cheer up all those who have lost faith in the great struggle against reaction. It was to no avail.... The great spirit was declining. Life was ebbing away.

Then on the night of January 26, the inevitable end came.

The comrades and friends will probably forget the flesh that lived in this human frame, but the memory of his spirit will remain with them forever.

(A biographical sketch of our late Comrade Weinberg, written by the editor, appeared in the April, 1933 issue of MAN!—EDITOR.)

THE FOREIGN LEGION OR A FASCIST PRISON

More and more in this country the political fugitive is becoming a hunted animal. In this respect we have become completely fascistic. Except abroad, nearly all believe in that France which proclaimed the Rights of Man and the Rights of Citizenship, is dead.

Five young Italians, between 16 and 26 years old, escaped from Mussolini's hateful regime, in search of a country where the word liberty has not yet lost all meaning. They arrived in Ventimille. There, under cover of a thunderstorm, they stole a rowing-boat, in which they set out to sea. After hazarding disaster twenty times over, they set foot on land in France, thinking their troubles were past. But there the gendarmes are on the watch. They were arrested and given the choice between enlisting in the Foreign Legion and being delivered up to Mussolini. Four of them—the older ones—preferred the African hell to the Italian one. The youngest, who was only sixteen, and was no doubt considered too young by our military "morticoles" (1) was handed over to the Italian authorities. He will be sentenced to six months imprisonment for emigrating without permission and also be prosecuted for the theft of the boat. And all this owing to the belief that France is still the last stronghold of liberty.

Such shameful things can take place without arousing widespread indignation. There was a time when the whole press, especially the left-wing press, would have protested against this illegal and infamous action, but now a thing of this kind is considered an incident for the general news column, to be mentioned in some ten lines or so, among the dogs killed by traffic and matters of like importance. All sense of humanity, dignity and liberty has disappeared.

"LE LIBERTAIRE"

(1) Patented murderers, term of abuse for bad physicians.

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Los Angeles:
Newsstand, Fifth and Main Street.
Newsstand, 211 W. 8th Street.
Newsstore 330 N. Main Street.
San Francisco:
Bookstore, 658 Broadway.
MacDonald's Book Store, 65 Sixth Street.
Milwaukee:
Hampel's Book Store, 708 W. Wisconsin Avenue.
New York City:
Biderman's Book Shop, 184 Second Avenue.
Bunn, N. W. Corner of 3rd Avenue and E. 14th Street.
Gordon's Newsstand, 8th Street & Sixth Ave., N. E. Cor.
Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th Street.
Maisel Book Store, 424 Grand Street.
Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th Street.
Roy Skinner, 318 E. 16th Street.
Rutkin, 42nd Street bet. 5th and 6th Ave., op. Stern Bros.
Stern's Newsstand, 28th Street & Sixth Ave., S. E. Cor.
P. Stez, 508 E. 16th St.
The New Workers Book Store, 131 W 33rd Street.
Weiseman, 96 E. 14th Street, near 4th Ave.
England:
Spain and the World, 21 Frith St., London, W. I.
The Worker's Friend, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End, E. 1, London.

INTER NOS

OPEN ANSWERS

J. RUDD — PENNSYLVANIA.—Your first and second letters have been received. Your insistence calls for an open answer. Sorry, we do not need any information in the matter. We happen to know Carlo Tresca and his activities well enough. We are also well informed of the filthy and libelous campaign carried on against L'ADUNATA and its editor. While we find no words strong enough to characterize its detractors, we fully support L'ADUNATA in the stand it has taken in the present vicious attack.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Income from Groups:

Collected by Aurora Aleva at Zonchela's picnic	$63.42
Refrattari Group of Detroit (share of affair)	$16.00
I Liberi Group of New London (share of affair)	$10.00
Allentown Group	$1.00
On list through John Belusia	$3.80
San Francisco Newspaper sale	$3.40
E. Michaels (newspaper sale)	$2.00
Celia Goldberg (newspaper sale)	$2.00

From Individuals

Five Dollars — Calvin Green, Otto Weik; Two Dollars — G. Borrow, H. C. Burl (for Books), Mike Bisceglia, I. Lapena; L. Noli — $1.60; One Dollar — Munzio Mazzill, D. Lanig, W. L. Spaeth, Frank Molarie, A. Abruzio, L. Keyser, Tilly Sherman, John Holland, George E. MacDonald, Juliet Woodville, William Ruby.

TOTAL INCOME	$132.64
EXPENDITURES	$108.50
Deficit from last issue	$4.63
Balance on Hand	$19.51

REPORT OF BROOKLYN AFFAIR

The Commitee of the Volonta Group has sent us the following report of the affair held on Februery 18, 1939 for the benefit of "L'Adunata" and MAN!:

Total Income	$104.10
Expenditures	75.40
Net Profit	$28.70

The sum was equqally divided and forwarded to both papers.